

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 246487
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DRAFTED BY TEXT RECEIVED FROM THE WHITE HOUSE
APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY
NEA - MR. ATHERTON
S/S.R. PERITO

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE
INFO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 246487

NODIS
FOR AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY; WHITE HOUSE-ZBRZEZINSKI

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PPDC, SY, US

SUBJECT: MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CARTER TO PRESIDENT ASSAD

1. PLEASE CONVEY TO PRESIDENT ASSAD THE MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CARTER CONTAINED IN PARAGRAPH 4 OF THIS TELEGRAM. AT THE SAME TIME YOU SHOULD CONVEY A COPY OF THE ACTUAL TEXT IN PARAGRAPH 4 OF THE WORKING PAPER THAT SETS OUT SUGGESTED U.S. PROCEDURE. YOU SHOULD NOTE THAT ISRAEL HAS NOW AGREED TO THESE PROPOSALS, BUT YOU SHOULD AVOID CHARACTERIZING THIS AS A JOINT U.S.-ISRAEL PROPOSAL.

2. IN CONVEYING THESE PROPOSALS, YOU SHOULD NOTE THAT THIS VERSION OF THE WORKING PAPER NO LONGER CONTAINS A REFERENCE TO "NOT WELL-KNOWN PLO MEMBERS." NONE OF THE PARTIES FOUND THIS A SATISFACTORY FORMULATION. WE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 246487

WILL BE DISCUSSING FURTHER WITH ALL PARTIES THE MEANS FOR ASSURING ACCEPTABLE PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION WITHIN THE UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION.

3. BEGIN TEXT OF PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE:

DEAR PRESIDENT ASSAD:

I AM WRITING TO YOU IN THE SINCERE HOPE THAT THE CLOSE

RELATIONSHIP THAT WE FIRST ESTABLISHED LAST MAY IN GENEVA WILL HELP US NOW TO MOVE QUICKLY INTO A NEW AND CHALLENGING PHASE OF THE SEARCH FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THE RECENT TALKS THAT SECRETARY VANCE AND I HAVE HAD WITH FOREIGN MINISTER KHADDAM HAVE CLARIFIED SYRIA'S POSITION ON BOTH PROCEDURAL AND SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES. I HAVE TRIED TO TAKE YOUR VIEWS FULLY INTO ACCOUNT IN DEVELOPING PROPOSALS FOR THE RECONVENING OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE.

I MUST TELL YOU IN ALL FRANKNESS THAT I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT MUCH FURTHER PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE CAN BE MADE IN THE ABSENCE OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. WE RUN THE RISK OF BEING PARALYZED BY MINOR DIFFERENCES OVER PROCEDURE. IF WE ALLOW THESE DIFFERENCES TO PREVENT THE HOLDING OF A PEACE CONFERENCE, THEN WE WILL HAVE PLAYED INTO THE HANDS OF THOSE WHO PREFER THE STATUS QUO TO THE TYPE OF PEACE THAT YOU AND I HAVE DISCUSSED.

IN ORDER TO RESOLVE EXISTING DIFFERENCES, I WOULD LIKE TO PROPOSE A FORMULA THAT I BELIEVE WILL BE FAIR TO ALL PARTIES. IT INCLUDES THE CONCEPT OF A UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION, WHICH I KNOW IS OF IMPORTANCE TO YOU, AND IT PROVIDES FOR PALESTINIANS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE CON-
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 246487

ERENCE SO THAT THEY CAN HAVE A VOICE IN DETERMINING THEIR OWN FUTURE. YOUR VIEWS ON THESE PROPOSALS WILL, OF COURSE, BE GIVEN FULL CONSIDERATION. I HOPE THAT YOU WILL CONTACT ME DIRECTLY AND PERSONALLY ON ANY SPECIFIC POINTS THAT MAY BE OF CONCERN TO YOU.

THE PROPOSED PROCEDURE WOULD PROVIDE FOR THE ARAB PARTIES TO BE REPRESENTED AT GENEVA BY A UNIFIED DELEGATION THAT WOULD INCLUDE PALESTINIANS. AFTER THE OPENING SESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE, WORKING GROUPS WOULD BE FORMED TO NEGOTIATE PEACE TREATIES BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT, ISRAEL AND SYRIA, AND ISRAEL AND JORDAN. IF LEBANON JOINS THE CONFERENCE, AN ISRAEL-LEBANON GROUP WOULD ALSO BE FORMED. THE ISSUES OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA WOULD BE DISCUSSED IN A WORKING GROUP CONSISTING OF ISRAEL, JORDAN, EGYPT AND THE PALESTINIANS. THE QUESTION OF REFUGEES WOULD BE DISCUSSED IN ACCORDANCE WITH TERMS TO BE AGREED UPON. THIS FORMULA WOULD PERMIT NEGOTIATIONS OF THE ISSUES THAT ARE OF IMPORTANCE TO THE CONFLICTING PARTIES.

THE PRECISE MEANS FOR ASSURING PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION WITHIN A UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION REMAIN TO BE WORKED OUT.

MY HOPE IS THAT THE ARAB PARTIES CAN COOPERATE WITH US TO ASSURE THAT AN ACCEPTABLE FORMULA CAN BE FOUND TO INCLUDE INDIVIDUAL PALESTINIANS WITHIN THE UNIFIED ARAB

DELEGATION WITHOUT REFERENCE TO THEIR ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATION.

YOU WILL NOTE THAT THE REVISED PAPER DOES NOT PROVIDE FOR THE WORKING GROUPS TO REPORT TO THE PLENARY, AS HAD AN EARLIER VERSION. IT HAS PROVEN DIFFICULT TO REACH AGREEMENT ON A FORMULA TO EXPRESS THIS CONCEPT, BUT AS A PRACTICAL MATTER I BELIEVE WAYS CAN BE FOUND TO ENSURE THAT THE PLENARY FRAMEWORK WILL CONTINUE TO HAVE AN IMPORTANT ROLE AT GENEVA. I THEREFORE DO NOT BELIEVE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 246487

THAT DISAGREEMENT ON THIS QUESTION NEED BE AN IMPEDIMENT TO RECONVENING THE CONFERENCE.

MR. PRESIDENT, I KNOW THAT YOU ARE DEEPLY COMMITTED TO A JUST PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. I WANT TO HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO WORK WITH YOU TOWARD THAT GOAL. I HOPE, THEREFORE, THAT YOU WILL BE ABLE TO AGREE TO THESE GENERAL PRINCIPLES FOR RECONVENING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. I AM WRITING SIMILAR LETTERS TO PRESIDENT SADAT, KING HUSSEIN, AND PRIME MINISTER BEGIN.

YOU HAVE MY BEST WISHES.

SINCERELY,

JIMMY CARTER

END TEXT OF PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE.

4. BEGIN TEXT OF WORKING PAPER:

WORKING PAPER ON SUGGESTIONS FOR THE RESUMPTION OF THE GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE.

1. THE ARAB PARTIES WILL BE REPRESENTED BY A UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION, WHICH WILL INCLUDE PALESTINIAN ARABS. AFTER THE OPENING SESSIONS, THE CONFERENCE WILL SPLIT INTO WORKING GROUPS.
2. THE WORKING GROUPS FOR THE NEGOTIATION AND CONCLUSION OF PEACE TREATIES WILL BE FORMED AS FOLLOWS:

A. EGYPT-ISRAEL
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 246487

- B. JORDAN-ISRAEL
- C. SYRIA-ISRAEL
- D. LEBANON-ISRAEL (ASTERISK)

3. THE WEST BANK AND GAZA ISSUES WILL BE DISCUSSED IN A

WORKING GROUP TO CONSIST OF ISRAEL, JORDAN, EGYPT, AND
THE PALESTINIAN ARABS.

4. THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF THE ARAB REFUGEES AND
OF THE JEWISH REFUGEES WILL BE DISCUSSED IN ACCORDANCE
WITH TERMS TO BE AGREED UPON.

5. THE AGREED BASIS FOR THE NEGOTIATION AT THE GENEVA
PEACE CONFERENCE ON THE MIDDLE EAST ARE UN SECURITY
COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338.

6. ALL THE INITIAL TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE GENEVA
PEACE CONFERENCE REMAIN IN FORCE, EXCEPT AS MAY BE
AGREED BY THE PARTIES.

(ASTERISK): ALL THE PARTIES AGREE THAT LEBANON MAY JOIN
THE CONFERENCE WHEN IT SO REQUESTS.

END TEXT OF WORKING PAPER.

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